DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 222 964 CS 504 026

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TITLE The Failure of an Interracial Southern Rhetoric: The Southern Tenant Farmers Union in North Carolina.
PUB DATE Oct 82
NOTE 17p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Carolinas Speech Communication Association (Raleigh, NC, October 1982).
PUB TYPE Reports - General (140) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Blacks; *Communication (Thought Transfer); Cooperation; Farmers; *Racial Differences; *Racial Relations; Regional Attitudes; *Rhetoric; *Sharecroppers; *Unions; United States History; Whites
IDENTIFIERS Depression (Economic 1929); *Southern Tenant Farmers Union; United States (South)

ABSTRACT

When the American Civil War ended, the southern aristocracy turned to sharecropping as a means for continuing its existence and for keeping former slaves in the fields. Tenant families during the economic depression of 1929 were forced to live in squalid conditions, and the natural antagonism between whites and blacks was exacerbated by the competition for jobs during this period. Landowners tended to replace black tenants with white workers who had been laid off from factories. In July 1934, 27 tenant farmers, both black and white, set aside their racial differences to organize the Southern Tenant Farmers Union (STFU), to work for decent living and working conditions. By 1936, the STFU had enrolled nearly 31,000 members. The rhetoric of the STFU was characterized by four basic strategies: an association with the church, a reliance on music and poetry, the two-local tactic (two segregated unions in larger communities), and agitation to attract publicity. William Thomas Brown, a black tenant farmer's son and a student at Shaw College-Raleigh, instigated the only STFU local to form in North Carolina. His activities were conspicuous for only 3 years, however, after which the local union disbanded. No other such locals were ogranized in the state. William Thomas Brown acknowledges that the STFU failed to sustain its foothold in North Carolina for two primary reasons: the impact of the Old South paternalistic attitudes toward tenants and the absence of white leadership, which curtailed the potential for a powerful interracial tenant farmers union. (HTH)

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THE FAILURE OF AN INTERRACIAL SOUTHERN RHETORIC:

THE SOUTHERN TENANT FARMERS UNION IN NORTH CAROLINA

A paper presented to the
Carolinas Speech Communication Association
Annual Convention, Raleigh
October 2, 1982.

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In Revolt Among the Sharecroppers, Howard Kester describes John Alden--a black man on the run. Alden is not just another Negro pursued by white sheriffs armed with shotguns. Something is different. Alden is an STFU leader.

> As John Alden looked into the brown waters of the Mississippi to which the morning rays of the sun were giving a golden lustre, it all became clear. Yes, he had been a slave. He had been one among thousands. Now the sharecroppers were no longer willing to be slaves. Slaves begged for mercy, but men demanded justice, and justice was all they asked. The planters were afraid of the union because it promised freedom to the enslaved sharecroppers. Now that the white and black slaves had stopped fighting one another and had joined together to struggle against their common enemy, the planter could no longer use the white man to beat down the black man or the black man to beat down the wages and living conditions of the white man. These once ancient enemies were together now. That made a difference--a world of difference.[1]

The Southern Tenant Farmers Union was perhaps the first group ever to unite Blacks, Whites, Indians, and Mexicans, all exploited by the sharecropper system, to fight for their common interests. By 1937, the STFU boasted of over 30,000 members in 328 locals across seven states. However, only one STFU local was organized in North Carolina. In this paper, I will analyze the rhetoric of the STFU and examine the Union's subsequent failure in North Carolina.

THE SHARECROPPER

"My God, How do these people live?"
--North Carolina Attorney[2]

"Since the Civil War sharecropping as a system of producing cotton has been as fundamental to the southern economy as banks and currency. When the Civil War closed the southern aristocracy turned to sharecropping as a means for continuing its existence."[3] Following the war, considerable effort was exerted to keep the former slaves in their place--the fields. However, the post-bellum economy and subsequent depressions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century forced many white families from land ownership into farm tenancy. By 1935, nearly 2/3's of all farm tenants were white, and in North Carolina white tenants outnumbered nonwhites nearly two to one.[4]

There are three types of farms tenants. Cash tenants essentially remain independent of the landlord, renting only the land for a fixed payment. Share tenants usually supply their own seed and equipment for 2/3's to 3/4's the cash value of the crop. Sharecroppers supply only their labor and receive 1/2 the crop.

> As a part of the age-old custom in the South, the landlord keeps the books and handles the sale of all the crops. The owner returns to the cropper only what is left over of his share of the profits after deductions for all items which the landlord has advanced to him during the year: seed, fertilizer, working equipment, and food supplies, plus interest on all this indebtedness, plus a theoretical 'cost of supervision'. The landlord often supplies the food...and other current necessities through his own store or commissary. Fancy prices at the commissary, exorbitant interest, and careless or manipulated accounts, make it easy for the owner to keep his tenants constantly in debt.[5]

Tenant Families of the Depression were forced to live in squalid conditions. Delapidated shacks, unsanitary water supplies, improper diet, poor clothing, sporadic medical care and educational opportunities, and "can to can't" working hours combined to create living conditions which "would make an Eskimo rejoice he did not live in cotton growing country."[6]

RACE RELATIONS

White planters commonly held a paternalistic attitude reminiscent of plantation days toward their black tenants. The subsequent accommodating relationship was strong and Negroes were reluctant to voice their criticisms. This attitude persists today. In Halifax County, North Carolina, seventy-year-old James Kimble is a cropper for Vernon Locke, currently under investigation for the alleged nonpayment of the federal minimum wage. Yet Kimble says, "They ought not to treat Mr. Locke that way. He's been good to us coloreds... You need some money, go up there, he give it to you. He's been all right, just like silk."[7]

Black landowners delighted in boasting, "I've got me a tenant now".[8] While receiving a measure of respect from his white counterpart, the black landlord was "always aware of the favored position of the white owner and maintain(ed) an underlying fear that his achievement may be undermined".[9] In general, Negroes who worked their way from tenants to the status of landlords were resented. "Farm tenant Negroes and poor Whites often [said] contemptuously of them, 'They try'n to live like white folks'."[10] This attitude also persists. Tommy Bunn, a successful black farmer in Halifax County, says, "It seems like they [Blacks] want me to do bad because they're doing bad."[11]

In The Mind of the South, W. J. Cash wrote of the "vastly ego-warming and ego-expanding distinction" even the most common white man, by nature of his race, enjoyed in comparison with the Negro."[12] Forced by economic conditions to compete for the jobs once exclusively relegated to Negroes and embittered by the memory of Negro rule during Reconstruction, white tenants had a deep hatred toward both the aristocratic planters and the black croppers. In North Carolina, the poor White's distrust of the landowning class even impeded the efforts to organize a farmer's union open only to Whites and Indians[13] and unashamedly racist.[14]

The natural antagonism of Whites and Blacks was exacerbated by the competition for jobs during the Depression. Whites laid off from the factories returned to the country and landowners tended to replace Negro tenants with them. "..... in 1934 there were in North Carolina between 8,000 and 12,000 families who had been displaced and had no crops."[15]

SOUTHERN TENANT FARMERS UNION

The STFU was the brainchild of H. L. Mitchell and Clay East of Tyronza, Arkansas. Mitchell, a former tenant farmer, and East sought a way by which the croppers could protect themselves. As Mitchell recalls, "We had no intention of establishing an interracial union. None of us had ever belonged to a union and we didn't know anything about it. All we wanted to do was ..... help the sharecroppers .....[16] On the night of July 11, 1934, twenty-seven tenant farmers, almost evenly divided among Whites and Blacks, gathered at the Sunnyside School on the Norcross plantation near Tyronza. Some of the Whites were former Klan members. Some of the Blacks were former members of a Negro Union wiped out at the Elaine, Arkansas massacre in 1919. An old Negro, a survivor of that massacre, settled the question of whether one union could serve the interests of both white and black croppers:

> 'We colored people can't organize without you, and you white folks can't organize without us. Aren't we all brothers and ain't God the Father of us all? We live under the same sun, eat the same food, wear the same kind of clothing, work on the same land, raise the same crop for the same landlord who oppresses and cheats us both. For a long time now the white folks and the colored folks have been fighting each other and both of us has been getting whipped all the time. We don't have nothing against one another, but we got plenty against the landlord. The same chain that holds my people holds your people, too. If we're chained together on the outside, we ought to stay chained together in the union. It won't do no good for us to divide because there's where the trouble has been all the time. The landlord is always betwixt us, beatin' us and starvin' us and makin' us fight each other. There ain't but one way, that's for us to get together and stay together.'[17]

The men present chose to lay aside their racial animosities and work together. Alvin Nunnally, a white cropper, was elected chairman, C. H. Smith, a black preacher, was elected vice-chairman, and another black preacher was elected chaplin. Ultimately, the Union adopted a program which today appears mild. They sought better living conditions: decent homes, access to woodsland to secure fuel, portions of land for gardens, and free schools with books and hot lunches. They demanded decent contracts, higher wages, better hours, the right to sell their cotton at market prices to whomever they chose, and an end to evictions.

The landowners' extreme reaction to these demands was indicative of their intent to maintain feudal control over their tenants. The reality of an integrated union threw them into a frenzy of anger and fear. They responded with all the traditional appeals to white supremacy and a plethora of terrorist tactics. Armed hoodlums menaced STFU meetings, members were beaten, their families were threatened, evictions increased, and some men were killed. It is likely that a repeat of the Elaine massacre was averted only because of the presence of white men in most STFU locals.

As an interracial movement, the STFU stimulated hope among the sharecroppers. "Expansion of the STFU beyond the Delta was aided by a fortuitous accident. In Muskogee, Oklahoma, a rough-hewn character named Odis Sweeden, mainly Cherokee and thoroughly unique, was preparing to leave his outhouse when an item on the newspaper fragment he tore off caught his eye. The story made the STFU sound interesting, so Sweeden decided to organize some locals around Muskogee."[18] By 1936, the STFU had enrolled nearly 31,000 members in Arkansas, Tennessee, Mississippi, Texas, Oklahoma, Missouri, and North Carolina. This figure may be deceptively low because many croppers "could not afford to pay the dues of ten cents a month".[19]

THE RHETORIC OF THE STFU

The rhetoric of the STFU was characterized by four basic strategies: an association with the church, a reliance on music and poetry, the two-local tactic, and agitation designed to attract publicity.

The only institution with which sharecroppers were familiar was the country church. Hence, STFU meetings were patterned after church services. Members sang "We Shall Not Be Moved" and recited the Lord's Prayer before union business was discussed. Many clergymen participated in the Union. Through the appealing values of fundamentalist religion and the familiar conventions of the church meeting, the STFU found an effective vehicle to reach the tenant farmers:

> Identification of the planter with Pharoah was traditional with southern black men; Scripture could be used to support organizing speeches as well as sermons; and churches were commonly the only buildings available for meetings of any kind. Even Norman Thomas, when he came to the Delta, fell into the shout-and-respond pattern of rural southern preaching: 'The only approach is for the workers to organize (ORGANIZE, the congregation repeats without breaking the rhythm) and stick together (STICK TOGETHER/YES SIR/HALLELUJAH) Stick together, the white man and the black man (PRAISE GOD) and seek justice in our union (UNION/YOU'RE RIGHT, BROTHER THOMAS/AMEN).'[20]

Enthusiastic singing helped strengthen identification with the Union. Favorite hymns like "Give Me That Old Time Religion" became "It's A Wonderful Union", and "Jesus Is My Captain", a camp meeting favorite, became the folk classic "We Shall Not Be Moved:"

> The Union is a Marching,
> We shall not be moved.
> The Union is a Marching,
> We shall not be moved.
> Just like a tree that's planted by the water,
> We shall not be moved.

John Handcox, the black sharecropper troubadore, wrote "We're Gonna Roll the Union On" and "Raggedy, Raggedy Are We:"

The poor man raise all the rich man can eat,
And then gets tramped down under the rich man's feet.

Raggedy, raggedy are we
Just as raggedy as raggedy can be.
We don't get nothin' from our labor
So raggedy, raggedy are we.[21]

The STFU also dramatized the conflict between the cropper and the landlord in poetry. In "The Death of the Union Man", Sterling Brown tells of an unidentified tenant farmer who, although beaten by his landlord, the sheriff "and some well-armed riffraff", refuses to divulge information about the local Union. With his dying words, he gives up one secret:

> We gonna clean out this brushwood round here soon, Plant the White Oak and the Black Oak side by side.[22]

The STFU attempted to deal with the race problem through the use of the two-local system. In communities too large for Whites and Blacks to know each other well, STFU leaders decided to organize both white and black locals. As membership increased in these locals and the tenants realized they were engaged in the same fight, it became increasingly difficult for Whites and Blacks to refuse invitations to attend each other's meetings.[23] The STFU goal was to create a movement where race was unimportant. Their success in this effort--particularly in Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas--was remarkable.

The greatest achievement of the STFU was "to focus attention on the plight of the sharecropper".[24] The STFU's reliance on agitational rhetoric was typical of a protest and reform movement. Reminiscent of populist Mary 'Yellin' Lease of Kansas, The Sharecropper's Voice instructed Union members to "Raise plenty of Hell, and you will get somewhere".[25] In actuality, the STFU accomplished little. While some small landowners gave in to its demands, STFU sponsored strikes and collective bargaining were ineffective. The Union was essentially overwhelmed by a combination of obstacles: croppers found it difficult to get away and attend meetings, landowner-backed violence, the indifference of the Roosevelt

administration, a weak financial base, and, ultimately, the mechanization of cotton farming. The real success of the STFU was "that it existed at all. The fact that poor and uneducated people overcame a centuries-old legacy of racism to present a united challenge to southern oligopoly is what makes the STFU story one that must be retold and preserved."[26]

STONE WALL LOCAL #200

H. L. Mitchell, now living in Montgomery, Alabama, writes "There was never but one local in North Carolina that belonged to STFU--it was formed by a student of Shaw College Raleigh among black tobacco farmers."[27] On September 27, 1936, William Thomas Brown, the student to whom Mitchell refers, wrote to the STFU co-founder:

> It was not my intention to have waited this long before writing to you. But my school began on September 15th and from then until now I have been very busy getting oriented. However, I am very glad to inform you that I have succeeded in organizing a local of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union consisting of seven members including myself.
>
> What I plan to do ..... get this small group of six men to understand the program and underlying philosophy of the Union. Then I plan to put on a membership campaign. After getting a larger group of members, I plan to organize.[28]

Indicating he was unable to collect dues from these first members, Brown paid the entire 70 cents himself. The following month, he sent Mitchell 35 cents for one year's subscription to The Sharecroppers Voice and requested the paper be mailed directly to the Shaw University Library.[29] A year later, Brown's correspondence indicates Local #200 of Hoke County had added five new members, all from Lumber Bridge. He also recommended several men as potential STFU organizers. Although apologizing for not having accomplished much for the STFU because he "had been working so hard to get money to be ready to enter school again in September", Brown indicated he had spoken on behalf of the STFU before

rural sociology classes at Shaw and at Fayetteville State Teacher's College. In March of 1939, Brown attended the STFU Convention in Memphis and served as a member of the resolutions committee. At this Convention the STFU Constitution was amended to read:

> That the jurisdiction of the STFU shall extend to all southern states, namely the states of Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Missouri, Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. That all types of workers employed on farms shall be eligible for membership whether they are farm laborers, sharecroppers and tenants, or small farm owners who work their own lands.[30]

Following this convention, William Brown apparently ceased his activities for the STFU and Hoke County Local #200 faded away. On August 24, 1982, I was fortunate to interview Brown in Greensboro. Rev. Brown, formerly campus minister at NC A&T, pastors a local church in Greensboro. After he was certain I was not associated with the FBI or CIA, Rev. Brown was happy to talk of his involvement with the STFU and Local #200.

William Thomas Brown was born August 21, 1912, in Wakulla, a small community between Red Springs and Maxton. His parents and grandparents were sharecroppers which, as he says, "was really slavery in those days".[31] They worked cotton and tobacco and received 1/3 of the crop "which wasn't much for all your labor, you know."

With his mother's encouragement, Brown was determined to get an education. He was the only one of nine children to attend school. There was no black school in Hoke County, so he attended the now defunct Thompson Institute in Lumberton, Robeson County. The white landlords did not want black families to send their children to school, certainly college. As Brown recalls, "You were a dangerous nigger if you sent your children to college." While the Whites opposed his efforts to obtain a high school degree and his decision to pursue a college education, he recalls Blacks also sought to discourage him. "An old

black gentleman said to me when I came home at Christmas, say 'you'll be home to start plowing in March, won't you'. He was hung up on the system, poor fellow." Brown persisted and graduated with A.B. and B.D. degrees from Shaw University and eventually received an M.DIV. from Crozier Seminary.

Brown first learned of the STFU when Howard Kester spoke at Shaw, and Kester made quite an impression upon him.

> The YMCA at North Carolina State University in Raleigh brought him..... the secretary of the YMCA at North Carolina State University ..... he always shared his speakers with Shaw ..... and I heard Howard Kester speak and that's when Howard told about the Union and what it was going through out in Memphis and how he spoke one afternoon ..... and how he had to get out the window because the landlords were after him ..... Let me say one thing about a white man like Howard. See he's called a nigger-lover. And he's worse off, they'll treat him worse than a black man. He was out there organizing these Blacks and Whites, he was integrating in those days. Man, that was a crime! ..... And so he was speaking in a church somewhere, and these landlords broke into the church and beat him up ..... when I heard Howard say this ..... I got angry ..... and I said I'm going to try to do something about this..... and Howard kept me informed. And finally they had a meeting in Memphis ..... and I went to the annual meeting. Shaw helped me to raise the money .....

As tenant farmer's son, William Brown saw Whites and Blacks banding together in the STFU and wanted to do something about it, too. He took it upon himself to start the only local in North Carolina. When asked how he went about organizing Local #200, Brown explained:

> I knew them [the subsequent members] personally ..... They were all black. I wouldn't dare say anything to Whites ..... let's bring this up and be frank about it ..... because if you brought a White ..... wouldn't know if, he could have been an informer ..... I can't think of any Whites then that I would have trusted enough, in fact, they wouldn't have come in anyway. They would have been so racist ..... they would have been afraid ..... maybe the landlord would call nigger-lovers, and they'll be in more danger than the Blacks because he'd get on those Whites and treat them worse than the Blacks.

Brown suggests that had a white organizer like Mitchell or Kester become involved, "they [the white tenants] probably have listened to them".

When asked how he persuaded his friends to join the STFU, Brown responded, "The appeal was that if you get together you can do something about this sharecropper system. They were sharecroppers and being exploited". Local #200 had a short life, though. As Brown relates, "Course now the Union never did come to much fruition, just on paper, we never got anything done ..... and I had to keep on going to college ..... I remember we met one night at my stepfather's house, his name was Paul Robeson ..... I remember we had ..... one black brother up there one night, we were trying to get a start ..... he say, I can remember his voice, he say, 'If you join this you gonna have to move! Well, he had a point." The white landlords in Hoke County--there were no black farmers with tenants--never knew of Local #200's existence.

JUST ON PAPER

The STFU failed to sustain its foothold in North Carolina. No one else besides William Thomas Brown ever attempted to organize a chapter in the Old North State. Local #200 was never more than the paper dream of a Shaw University student who seized upon the hope of Whites and Blacks uniting together to work toward a common goal.

While Delaney contends that the Blacks, essentially without voting rights, acquiesced to landlords who were law unto themselves[32] and cast off their feelings of insecurity in the ecstatic worship of an otherworldly gospel which overshadowed "any concern for contemporary moral and social problems,"[33] two other reasons appear more directly responsible for the STFU's failure to manifest a presence in North Carolina: the impact of the Old South and the absence of white organizers.

"One important North Carolina decision [State vs. Austin] refers to a share tenant as 'a servant whose wages depend upon the amount of profit'."[34]

The language of this decision suggests the paternalistic attitude of the Old South slaveowner was perpetuated in the sharecropper system. Even the little medical, recreational, and educational assistance the landlord offered served primarily to underscore his control and undermine the tenant's sense of self-reliance. The STFU was more successful in the southwestern states of Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, and Oklahoma as opposed to the southeastern plantation states. "This variance from the familiar pattern of the Old South was registered promptly in conflicts between landlords and tenants unheard of in the Old South."[35] H. L. Mitchell explains, "In Arkansas, Missouri, and even in the Mississippi Delta--the racial patterns had not been hardened as they were in North Carolina. We started in as an interracial movement in a new land--with people from everywhere in there. There was more fear among Blacks in North Carolina than in Arkansas. White tenant farmers had no ties with their landlords--mainly companies or big individual farm operators, as for instance they might even be related to the landlords in North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama--in the Old South."[36]

As William Brown indicates, this pattern of Old South attachments manifested itself in the system of Negro informants, "course ..... Blacks would inform, too." Delaney explains "When a Negro leader is prompted by ideals of farm and home ownership, he must speak cautiously to assemblies of Negroes who are tenants. A report on the sermon or address is usually given to the landlord or his agent before the day is over. A student at Shaw University confirmed this attitude with this experience in his home county."

> One Negro farm tenant as a self-appointed leader began stimulating interest among fellow-Negro tenants in ways and means of improving their condition. He carried on informal discussions at the corner-store and at the homes of his friends. The day did not end before news of his talks reached the landed interests. Several carloads of whites were in search of the agitator by sunset. There was no violence; he was ordered to cease his agitation or leave the community.[37]

Just as William Brown correctly identified Old South paternalism as an obstacle to STFU progress in North Carolina, he also recognized the absence of white leadership severely curtailed the potential for an interracial tenant union. H. L. Mitchell is confident that had white and black organizers worked together in North Carolina--"It was 800 or more miles from Memphis to Raleigh and the STFU had no money to pay travel expenses for such distances in those days"--the STFU could have met better success. As Mitchell says, "We met violent opposition everywhere. We had access to newspapers and radio, and made use of these and the few liberal people in Memphis and Little Rock. Had we really a movement of size in North Carolina, we would have found ways. There was the University and the Daniels family owned the Raleigh Observer."[38]

Even as he corresponded with William Brown, H. L. Mitchell must have known that the STFU's appeal to white and black tenants to recognize their common bonds under the planters would fall on deaf ears. The deeply ingrained legacy of the plantation system and hardened racial attitudes had fused into a value system too formidable to gamble precious time and money on North Carolina. William Thomas Brown, an idealistic Shaw University student, tried anyway. Brown failed, but his attempt represents a remarkable moment in North Carolina rhetoric.

ENDNOTES

[1]Howard Kester, Revolt Among the Sharecroppers (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969), pp. 14-15.

[2]_____, p. 37.

[3]_____, p. 18.

[4]United States Census of Agriculture, 1945, I, Part 16, p. 10.

[5]Charles Johnson, Edwin R. Embree, and W. W. Alexander, The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935), pp. 8-9.

[6]_____, p. 15.

[7]Charlotte Observer, May 2, 1982.

[8]Moses Nathaniel Delaney, "Some Significant Economic Trends in North Carolina, 1920 to 1945: Their Social, Educational, Political, and Religious Implications with Special Reference to the Negro" (Unpublished Master's thesis, Drew University, 1950), p. 34.

[9]_____, p. 81.

[10]_____, p. 34.

[11]Charlotte Observer, May 2, 1982.

[12]W. J. Cash, The Mind of the South (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1941), pp. 38-39.

[13]Charles P. Loomis, "The Rise and Decline of the North Carolina Farmer's Union", North Carolina Historical Review, VII (July, 1930), 309.

[14]_____, "Activities of the North Carolina Farmer's Union", North Carolina Historical Review, VII (October, 1930), 450.

[15]Johnson et al, The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy, p. 61.

[16]The Commercial Appeal (Memphis), March 3, 1982.

[17]Kester, Revolt Among the Sharecroppers, p. 56.

[18]Donald Grubbs, Cry From Cotton: The STFU and the New Deal (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971), p. 80. Occasionally there were setbacks. Sweeden and Mitchell were rebuffed by a group of Choctaws near Durant. "Indian already organized", the Choctaw chief replied; "when white man and black man get ready to take back the land, we join them." p. 80.

[19]Arkansas Gazette (Little Rock), April 15, 1982.

[20]_____, p. 65.

[21]The Commercial Appeal (Memphis), April 17, 1982.

[22]Letter, H. L. Mitchell, August 28, 1982.

[23]Grubbs, Cry From Cotton, p. 67

[24]George B. Tindall, The Emergence of the New South, 1913-1945 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967), p. 421.

[25]Sharecroppers Voice, November 1, 1930, STFU Manuscript Collection, NCSU.

[26]Danny Collum, "Black and White Together", review of Mean Things Happening in This Land, by H. L. Mitchell, in Sojourners, February, 1982.

[27]Letter, H. L. Mitchell, August 28, 1982.

[28]Letter, William Thomas Brown to H. L. Mitchell, September 27, 1936. STFU MSS, NCSU.

[29]Letter, William Thomas Brown to H. L. Mitchell, October 27, 1936. STFU MSS, NCSU.

[30]Amendment to the Constitution, Special STFU Convention, Memphis, March 19, 1939. STFU MSS, NCSU.

[31]Interview, William Thomas Brown, August 24, 1982, Greensboro, North Carolina.

[32]Delaney, "Some Significant Economic Trends", p. 15.

[33]_____, p. 117.

[34]Johnson et al., The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy, p. 71.

[35]_____, pp. 71-72.

[36]Letter, H. L. Mitchell, August 28, 1982.

[37]Delaney, "Some Significant Economic Trends", p. 75.

[38]Letter, H. L. Mitchell, August 28, 1982.